The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXV NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1922 No. 2980

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

EVERY move President Harding makes seems to render his position worse. The repudiation by the railway executives of his earlier suggestions left him no recourse but the feeble request that the men and the executives submit the remaining outstanding issue—the seniority question—to the Railway Labor Board. This is almost sure to be refused by both sides; the union leaders cannot risk an adverse ruling in this matter—the chances are that the strikers would refuse to return to work without definite assurances of a favorable decision—and the executives have committed themselves on this point so completely that they are quite unlikely to reverse their stand. If both sides repudiate the President, only one course remains open to him—short of complete surrender. He can take over the roads, restore the strikers to their positions and their rights as employees, and reopen the whole case before the Labor Board. He will do this if he has an ounce of initiative and courage in him.

THE chances for peace in the coal fields are brighter. The conference between the men and a group of operators from the Central Competitive field has opened amid general auguries of success. If, as has been suggested, the men actually return to work on the 1920 wage scale pending a deliberate consideration of the conditions of the industry and the needs of the miners, the strike may be considered won. The mere signing of an agreement with the union will mark the failure of the attempt to wreck the United Mine Workers of America; and a general agreement including the four States of the Central Competitive field will end the effort to substitute separate district agreements. Whether enough operators will join the conference to make its decisions binding on the rest is still in doubt. But enough has been accomplished to give us hope of peace in the coal fields before winter.

THE late Glenn Plumb could have made a fortune if he had "played the game" and stuck by the railroads for whom he was a successful attorney. He chose instead to give himself to the cause of the railroad workingmen and to develop on their behalf the Plumb Plan which remains the most original and the most useful suggestion for the solution of our railroad problems made in recent years. That his plan had defects is of course true; the tremendous fire of criticism to which he was subjected was useful in bringing out valuable suggestions the worth of which Mr. Plumb himself readily admitted, for he had no pride of opinion. Something like his plan will one day be adopted in this country unless we go directly to government ownership and government operation. When so able a student of railroad affairs as Mr. Edward Hungerford, who began writing on this subject from the conventional railroad president's point of view, virtually admits in his latest book that government ownership is inevitable, he who believes that the day of private ownership is not nearing its end is optimistic indeed. A modified Plumb Plan will eventually prove the only alternative to the straight-out form of government ownership and operation found abroad. When that day comes we hope Mr. Plumb's plan for making the workingmen cooperators in the development and management of the railroads and thus differentiating them markedly from mere governmental employees with no thought beyond their pay envelope should be the basis of the final adjustment. Such a result will be a lasting monument to Glenn Plumb.

SENATOR REED'S renomination is another cause for rejoicing. Not that he is a first-rate public man or that his course is always the ideal one—far from it. But he has stood for just opposition to the Wilsonian attempt to dominate the Democratic Party, as well as for opposition to the League of Nations, and for the right to think for oneself even when in Congress. An opponent of our declaration of war and one of the "wilful twelve," his renomination, which ought to be followed by his reelection, is additional proof that we are getting away from the hypocrisy, the deceit, and the hysteria of war days. Incidentally, Woodrow Wilson has no luck in Missouri. He wound up the issue of truthfulness between himself and Senator Spencer two years ago by saying he would leave it to the public to decide at the polls. The public promptly indorsed and reelected Senator Spencer by a huge vote. Mr. Wilson's bitter denunciation of Senator Reed as a "political marplot" and a man who had "shown himself incapable of sustained allegiance to any person or any cause" did not defeat him. The Senate will retain the services, if he is chosen next fall, of a useful legislator.

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OTHER features of the primaries held on August 1 were the welcome defeat of Congressman Philip Campbell of Kansas, the veteran chairman of the powerful House Committee on Rules, whose rejection by his own constituency removes another prominent reactionary Republican leader—Cannon, Fess, Mondell, Fordney, and Kelly of Michigan will also drop out this year for one reason or another. Mr. Campbell merited this defeat if only because he advocated the bonus and recently pocketed the resolution for a much-needed investigation of the war frauds. Gratifying, too, was the outcome in Oklahoma, where the anti-Ku Klux candidate, Mayor J. C. Walton of Oklahoma City, who has stated that he would run the Klan into the Arkansas River if elected, won the Democratic nomination, which is equivalent to election, by a decisive majority. The Klan seems, indeed, out of favor save in Texas, where it swept the polls. The Klan issue was not the only happy feature of Mr. Walton's victory. He was the candidate of the Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League, which bears a striking resemblance to the Nonpartisan League. In Kansas, too, the Klan seems to be making no headway. In that reactionary State, by the way, another editor has won the nomination for governor. It seems, after the succession of Stubbs, Capper, Allen, and now Morgan, as if nobody could be chosen Governor of Kansas who did not belong to the Fourth Estate.

A WOOL merchant of Boston writes to complain of the duty on his product as fixed in the pending tariff bill. He holds, first, that a specific duty is no kind to levy on wool and, further, that if one must resort to that method then the proper basis is on the "grease pound"—as in the McKinley, Dingley, and Payne-Aldrich laws—and not on the "scoured pound" as is proposed in the present bill. We doubt if we would know a "grease pound" from a "scoured pound," even if a sheep should leave one of each on our doorstep, but we are impressed by our correspondent's statement that there are at least twelve grades of wool varying in value, when scoured, from twelve cents to $1.10. A uniform tax of thirty-three cents a pound on these is, he continues, "220 per cent for South American low crossbred wool, suitable for the rough tweeds and homespuns of the poor, and 30 per cent for Australian merinos, which make the choice soft worsteds of the rich." He estimates further that in changing the basis of the duty from the "grease pound," as in the older tariffs, to the "scoured pound" the Senate has raised the tax on wool 45 to 116 per cent above the famous Schedule K of the Payne-Aldrich law which wrecked the Republican Party under President Taft. "If this bill becomes a law, the tax on the poor consumer would be higher than it was under any tariff law ever enacted," he comments. "And as between him and the rich consumer his tax would be more than seven times as great." Yes, we are impressed by all this but still more by our correspondent's statement: "I am not a Democrat arguing for free trade or a low tariff, but a Republican who with one exception has always voted the Republican ticket." Well, what does he expect—silk purses from sow's ears? As an expert in his business our correspondent should know that for a generation the only thing the Republican Party has ever done with wool has been to pull it over the public's eyes.

THE patience of the Filipinos and their steady, unruffled determination should impress even the imperialist and the doubter with their ability to govern themselves. Time after time they have come asking for freedom and have received from our Government empty reassurances or contemptuous estimates of their capacity—such as are implied in General Wood's recent report. But after each rebuff they return with new proofs of their ability. The Philippine Independence Mission, which recently left for Manila, issued a statement through Mr. de Veyra, the Philippine Commissioner, reiterating the desire of the people for self-rule, which declares that

> All the expenses of the Philippine Government are borne by the Filipino people. . . . With the exception of the offices of Governor General, Vice-Governor, and insular Auditor, all of the important executive and administrative offices in the islands are in the hands of native Filipinos. All members of both branches of the legislature are Filipinos, as well as all provincial and municipal officials. There has been established in the Philippines a stable government of, by, and for the Filipinos, the condition precedent to the granting of their independence. The time for America to fulfil its pledge has already come. . . .

The Filipinos do not riot for freedom. They deal in facts and present their claims in a tone that seems to expect fair treatment. Let us hope they get it as promptly, at least, as those peoples of the earth who demand their rights in terms of violence.

THE Irish Trades Union Congress was opened by a vigorous address denouncing militarism in Ireland. Specific offenses against the rights of civilians were directly charged to all the armed forces—the Ulster specials, the Free State troops, and the Republicans. "Men have persuaded themselves," Chairman O'Shannon declared, "that because they fought for national freedom, or now possess and can use guns, they are entitled to do as they please by the mere authority of a gun and ride roughshod over the civil population and ignore and trample every civilian's rights and interests." He called on the workers to take no part in the civil war which served no interest dear to labor. To many Americans the tragic futility of that war will come home less from such statements than from the sad news of Harry Boland's death. As Sinn Fein representative in this country he had won many friends. His courage and common sense Ireland can ill spare. He was in Washington when the treaty was signed and at first commended it but on hearing from Mr. de Valera—whose private secretary he had been—he denounced it and returned home to fight it. According to the newspapers, he was wounded resisting arrest by Free State forces and died "forgiving everybody." Ireland will need that spirit of forgiveness in all factions, North and South.

FEW civil conflicts seem at this distance so chaotic as that in which the Italian Fascisti are the aggressors. Sometimes Fascisti and soldiers fight against Socialists and Communists; sometimes Socialists and Communists aid the soldiers against the Fascisti. In the name of nationalism, of law and order, the Fascisti threaten the national government which is the newly reorganized Facta ministry, constitutionally created. The New York *World* the other day referred to the Fascisti as an Italian Catholic parallel to our Protestant Ku Klux Klan; as a matter of fact the Fascisti have burned one Catholic paper. They regard the Catholic Party as too radical and are opposed by the Catholic labor organizations. Probably most of the Fascisti are Catholics but like many Italians they carry their formal

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religion as a kind of life-insurance policy for the hereafter on which the premium is light. Their real religion is nationalism—and war. As we write they are said to control five provinces, and the latest of the series of weak coalition cabinets may have to yield to their demands or resign. One thing the deeds of the Fascisti make plain: the bourgeoisie is still strong in the nations which survived the war; it can and will use extra-legal violence more effectively and ruthlessly than the Communist proletariat. The Communist espousal of violence in Italy served not to bring a constructive revolution but to excuse the violence of their enemies, the Fascisti, who have gone to lengths which alarm the more sober of the economic groups which created them.

WE have always held that the members of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice could not possibly have found out what an absurd hired man they had in John S. Sumner; we have waited, rather amused, to see how long it would take them to find out; we have even put one or two bets on the race between his stupidity and their inattention. It looks as if the game were now about up. If the members of the Society are alive at all they must see the enormous joke it is for their employee to have anything to do with the proposed censorship of all books of all publishers. Let the bee be consulted about leisure, or the donkey about pride, or the chicken about thought, or the hyena about manners, but let John S. Sumner, with his illiterate zeal, tend to his smutty post cards and leave books alone. He has put himself outside the pale; let him stay out.

ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL will chiefly be remembered for his marvelous invention which has so revolutionized human life—an invention which would today bulk even larger in the world's estimation were it not that it has been followed by the electric light, the phonograph, the moving picture, the airplane, the automobile, the wireless, and the other developments which have amazingly enriched our modern existence. But Mr. Bell was far more than an inventor; he was a great scientist whose never-ending labors were based, unlike those of many other inventors, upon precise scientific education and knowledge. Like Mr. Edison, Dr. Bell spent an enormous amount of time and much money upon ideas and theories which could not be worked out practically. Moreover, his successes and failures alike served to obscure the great service he rendered to the cause of the education of deaf mutes. The founder of the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Deaf Mutes, to which he donated $250,000, Dr. Bell was at the youthful age of sixteen an extremely successful teacher of those born without speech and hearing. At twenty-four he was an expert called upon to develop the teaching of these unfortunates in the public-school system of Boston and he never lost his interest in their welfare or failed to contribute to the advancement of the methods of teaching them. Next to the telephone his labors in this field are surely his greatest claim to the immortality which is unquestionably his.

IN the Middle Ages monks occasionally took a manuscript of Homer or Vergil or some such heathen author, scratched out his unimportant words, and in their place put something pious, edifying, and dull. Boston, a scholarly community, is busy making palimpsests of the same sort, it seems. What was the Edgar Allan Poe Square has been erased and renamed the Matthew Emmett Ryan Square.

An Immoral Moral Plea

LORD BALFOUR doubtless meant his note to France as a warning to her militarist leaders. In fact it has roused those leaders into talking more aggressively than they had talked for months, and has intensely irritated American opinion. He declared that the amount of interest and repayment for which the British Government would ask France would depend not so much upon what France and the other Allies owed Great Britain as upon what Great Britain had to pay the United States; and he suggested that Great Britain would be ready to abandon all further right to German reparation and all claim to repayment of sums owed her by her Allies if this could be made part of a general plan by which the great problem could be dealt with satisfactorily and as a whole. In other words, let Europeans be generous with each other, and let Uncle Sam pay.

The noble lord took small account of public opinion in the United States. In defending an essentially economic position with moral arguments he made a mistake to which British statesmen are all too prone. England, and all Europe, might as well realize that the profound if not very clearly defined feeling of the mass of the American people is that the Allies "did them dirt" at Versailles, and forfeited all right to talk of moral claims. More than a year and a half ago *The Nation* began to urge cancelation of the debts on the ground that most of them are unpayable in any case and that payment of the others would be harmful to our own economic interests. If Britain, not to mention the other Allies, is to pay us the quarter billion dollars which we are asking her to pay each year, she will have to double her exports to the United States—or to other countries, which, in the present state of world affairs, is hardly possible. That would mean a flood of "cheap British goods," and our tariff and ship-subsidy bills show us in no mood to permit the payment in goods, which is the only possible basis for cash repayment. But, shifting the field of battle, Lord Balfour has injured the cause of cancelation. America resents his assumption of moral superiority. When he invites France to forego much of her reparation and says that England will do so also, Lord Balfour seems to forget that England has acquired a new colonial empire in Africa and the bulk of what was the second merchant marine in the world. England has her prizes in her pocket; she can afford to be generous about the scraps not yet collected. He calmly lumps the outrageous British claim for pension allowances in the same bag with honestly contracted international debts. Senator Borah put the American case well in the New York *World:*

> The people of the United States could never be greatly interested in any proposition for the cancelation of any part of the debt to the United States unless the proposition is accompanied by a definite and specific plan supported by certain guaranties for practical disarmament both by land and sea. There is nothing to be gained by our canceling this debt or any part of it if the gigantic military and armament programs in Europe are to continue. It would amount in practical effect to our aiding and abetting the building up of these great military and armament establishments and thereby abetting war.

The essential fact is that the American people will not be converted to any program of cancelation without decisive indication of a changed policy in Europe. When that comes we believe they will respond. We shall urge them to. But we doubt if Lord Balfour has furthered that change.

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Success to Robert La Follette!

THAT all the news from Wisconsin points to the success of Robert La Follette at the coming primary must hearten and cheer everybody who believes as does *The Nation* that in the long run the American electorate is certain to recognize merit and unselfish service in its behalf. It means even more than that, for if Mr. La Follette is returned to the Senate it will show that the masses of the people are beginning to come out of the hypnotic state in which they were placed by Woodrow Wilson and the war mania, and are beginning to sense how they were lied to, deceived, and misled in the name of democracy and humanity. Against no one was there such a campaign of slander and vile abuse waged as against Senator La Follette. The Associated Press, by accident or by the design of an employee, perpetrated a most atrocious falsehood, a garbling of the Senator's speech in regard to the Lusitania's sinking, which made him say that we had no grievance in that case whereas he had declared the contrary. That any man could survive such a torrent of vilification and misrepresentation is as encouraging as it is amazing. Only five years ago he was being expelled from his clubs, the University of Wisconsin for which he had done so much had turned upon him, the Wisconsin Legislature considered publicly denouncing him, hundreds of his prominent followers left him, practically every Wisconsin newspaper attacked him—all because he exercised what had hitherto throughout our history been deemed the inalienable right of an American, the right to oppose a war policy of his government, a right that had been exercised without serious interference in every war which his country had waged from the Revolution down.

Well, the press of Wisconsin is still, with two exceptions, opposed to Mr. La Follette's fourth renomination and yet every observer privately concedes that so far as indications go he will again be returned to Washington—another interesting example of the way our daily press has come to misrepresent the people and also of the way it is losing political influence. More than that, there are plenty of influential men in Congress and in the political life of Wisconsin who in their hearts are praying for La Follette's success. He never lost his hold upon the regard and respect of his associates in the Senate even in the days when many of them ignored him because of their cowardly deference to an hysterical public opinion. They knew then that he was being lynched; many of them, who were as much opposed to our going into the war as he but voted against their consciences, secretly envied him his superb courage and manhood, and these men are eager for his reelection. Again Mr. La Follette has risen to a commanding position in the Senate not only by long service but because of industry, painstaking study of the problems involved, and constant constructive suggestions and measures. His associates know that there is not a man in Congress who has such an amazing record of having written his policies into law, and they are aware, too, that many of the great capitalists who bitterly opposed his views and his legislation would not today undo the very laws that they once fought and denounced.

Take the Seaman's Law, for instance. Undoubtedly it could be improved here and there in the light of experience, but no sensible man, whether he be ship captain or ship operator, would favor its repeal. Nine-tenths of the prophecies made in regard to it when it was passed have proved to be folly. It remains an enormous advance in the law of the sea; it has done more to raise the profession of the seaman than anything in the last hundred years. If we succeed in maintaining our new fleet upon the seas with bona fide American-born crews it will be more due to Robert La Follette than to anybody else. As for the rest of the legislation in which Mr. La Follette has been a leader, is there a responsible insurance or railroad official or any self-respecting newspaper editor who would today turn back the hands of time and undo it? Certainly not in Wisconsin, where the laws written upon the statute books while La Follette was Governor remain the pride of the State.

The trouble with Senator La Follette, aside from his noble and justified stand against the war, is that he has always been in advance of his times. Nothing could illustrate that more clearly than the fact that in 1908 Mr. La Follette offered thirteen planks for incorporation in the Republican platform. The standpatters indignantly rejected them, yet today twelve of these proposals are law of the land, nine of them by the votes of the party which spurned them with such contumely. Even the thirteenth has been adopted in part. The truth is that the Senator has the deadly quality of persistence and the ability to wait which are the despair of the conservative and the party hack. Rooted in principle he can afford to wait; time and tide fight with him against all the codes of the human jungle in which he battles. Even now he stands at a point in his career where his long service is about to bring him the reward of placing him more than ever in a position to serve his State and country. If he is reelected he will be second ranking member of the Interstate Commerce Committee. If Senator Smoot leaves the Senate to take the headship of the Mormon Church which is possible, or if he decides to take the chairmanship of the Appropriations Committee, Mr. La Follette will become the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, the most important position in Congress. The mere prospect of this ought to make every supporter of La Follette work with redoubled energy; it is hardly possible to exaggerate the damage that Mr. La Follette could do to the reactionaries who control his party if he should succeed to this position. It is because of this that the whole country has a deeper interest in Mr. La Follette's success than pertains even to the righting of a frightful injustice to him and the reestablishment of those men in public life who dared in April 1917, to oppose the madness of the war which has cost us so dear, plunged all Europe into misery, and transferred the seat of the worst militarism from Berlin to Paris.

What has been the secret of Mr. La Follette's success beyond his own high character? Why nothing else than his unshakable belief in his fellowmen and in democracy. He has never swerved in his faith that the cure for the ills of democracy is not less but more democracy. He is the soundest kind of an American patriot, for he is steeped in the real principles of the founders and he has kept as close to the plain people as any man we have had in public life since Abraham Lincoln. From every angle the reelection of this man is of national moment. To our readers who are so situated that they can help we make the most urgent appeal to work for Robert La Follette and not to allow themselves to be lulled into inactivity by the glowing prospect that Wisconsin is going to be true to itself and to America.

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The Inexhaustible Sea

THIS is the season for seeing sea serpents that have never appeared and relating fishing adventures that have never happened. It is a poor time for an honest man to come forward with a veracious tale. Yet we have recently seen the evidence in that most reputable journal, the Manchester *Guardian*, of the discovery of what was probably the largest cuttle-fish of which there is any authentic record, and we cannot withhold the details, until a time of year when they would be less likely to be questioned, of the finding of this enormous specimen of what Michelet calls "the insatiable nightmares of the sea."

Sir William Boyd Dawkins, who writes the article for the *Guardian*, obtained his information from what he vouches for as a trusty correspondent in Africa. Best of all he prints a photograph of the sea monster sent by his correspondent and made far enough from the motion-picture studios so that it is not likely to be discredited. The great creature of the deep was stranded on the coast of Mozambique during the equinoctial gales of September, 1921. Sir William's correspondent writes from the neighborhood of Beira, on that remote stretch of Portuguese East African shore:

It was found by the Kaffirs, who were at first scared by its rightful aspect, and then proceeded to cut it up for food—an operation which lasted twelve days. A strange rumor had been in circulation for several days among the natives in the villages of the vicinity of Beira. It was said that an enormous sea serpent (in Portuguese "great sea cobra") had been drifting for some time along the coast, having come from the north after the great storm in September, that this serpent had three heads (other natives said that it had five heads), and that it was as bulky as the hull of a tug. An old Kaffir chief informed me that it had only one enormous head—large as the top of the light-house at Macuti—but that it had five arms and that these arms were the length and girth of the small wild palm trees which grow on the sand dunes along the shore; also that it had two eyes twice as large as the lights of a motorcycle.

With these statements, more or less contradictory, before me I decided to go to the place of the discovery, and took with me a photographer. This is what I found: In the terrible heat of the sun and in an overpowering stench about twenty Kaffirs were at work hacking with their axes at an enormous brown gelatinous mass that resisted the ax like india-rubber. It measured six meters (19 feet, 6 inches) long, three meters (9 feet, 0 inches) broad, and 1.20 meter (3 feet, 11 inches) high. It was embedded by its weight in the sand. The weight may be estimated at from six to eight tons.

From time to time the Kaffirs had to sharpen their axes because the flesh was so difficult to cut. This flesh was without fat and without bones, and was compacted with coarse fibers running through it. The color was in some places brick-red, in others yellow. This change of tint in the sections may have been due to the decomposition, more or less pronounced, of the monster. While it was being cut up small streams of pale blood trickled from the skin. I observed on the back rope-like masses of apparently muscular fiber hanging in festoons and widened at the ends where they rested on the sand. Lower down on the sides of this mass of flesh there were semicircles in relief, reminding one of the footprints of an elephant. After my companion had taken two photographs we beat a hasty retreat, for the smell of the beast would soon have been the death of us.

Sir William's correspondent estimated from the portion of the cuttle-fish that remained when he reached the scene, and from the conflicting statements of the natives, that the entire length must originally have been from 30 to 50 meters (98 to 164 feet). Sir William himself remarks that cuttle-fish form the chief food of whales off the coast of Mozambique and that when cachalots are harpooned they disgorge bits of the arms and tentacles of cuttle-fish as large as a quarter cask, which have been bitten off creatures of a size rarely seen by man. Sir William concludes: "Without attaching undue importance to estimates of size and weight, we may take it (the cuttle-fish) to be a well-authenticated fragment of the largest of these molluscs of which, up to the present time, we have any record."

Sir William's statements regarding the huge cuttle-fish upon which whales feed are more than borne out by that most observing whaleman, Frank T. Bullen. In "The Cruise of the Cachalot" he tells of a whale in its death throes ejecting masses of cuttle-fish eight feet by six feet by six feet—much larger than the quarter cask mentioned by Sir William. Bullen also writes that when off the northern coast of Sumatra he witnessed by moonlight a terrific fight between a whale and a giant cuttle-fish:

A very large sperm whale was locked in deadly conflict with a cuttle-fish, or squid, almost as large as himself, whose interminable tentacles seemed to enlace the whole of his great body. The head of the whale especially seemed a perfect net-work of writhing arms—naturally, I suppose, for it appeared as if the whale had the tail part of the mollusc in his jaws, and in a businesslike, methodical way was sawing through it. By the side of the black columnar head of the whale appeared the head of the great squid, as awful an object as one could well imagine even in a fevered dream. Judging as carefully as possible, I estimated it to be at least as large as one of our pipes, which contained three hundred and fifty gallons; but it may have been, and probably was, a good deal larger. The eyes were very remarkable from their size and blackness, which, contrasted with the livid whiteness of the head, made their appearance all the more striking. They were at least a foot in diameter.

Of the giant cuttle-fish that presumably inhabit only the unvisited and unknown far-down levels of remote seas Bullen remarks:

The imagination can hardly picture a more terrible object than one of these huge monsters brooding in the ocean depths, the gloom of his surroundings increased by the inky fluid (sepia) which he secretes in copious quantities, every cup-shaped disc, of the hundreds with which the restless tentacles are furnished, ready at the slightest touch to grip whatever is near, not only by suction, but by the great claws set all around within its circle. And in the center of this net-work of living traps is the chasm-like mouth, with its enormous parrot-beak, ready to rend piecemeal whatever is held by the tentaculae.

"How big they may become in the depths of the sea, no man knoweth," says Bullen of the cuttle-fish; "but it is unlikely that even the vast specimens seen are full-sized, since they have only come to the surface under abnormal conditions, like the one I have attempted to describe, who had evidently been dragged up by his relentless foe." Sir William Boyd Dawkins is of the same opinion, remarking in regard to the monster found on the coast of Mozambique: "It is very unlikely that this is the largest of its kind awaiting discovery in the seas of the world."

Let us hope so; for we do not wish in our own day to see exhausted the wonders of what the Psalmist calls "this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts."

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A Ship-Subsidy Catechism

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

What is a subsidy?

It is a grant of public money to support a business which for one reason or another cannot support itself.

Why is it granted?

On the theory that by and by it will learn to support itself or because it is believed that there is a public interest involved.

To whom is it granted?

To such persons as have sufficient political power to induce a political party to give them what they want or to buy subsidies by campaign contributions.

Then it is a form of special privilege?

That is precisely what it is and it is granted on the excuse that the business which benefits is affected by a public or national interest.

Does a subsidy act as a stimulus to the recipients to improve their business methods and to exert themselves to stand on their own feet?

It does nothing of the kind; its every influence is toward loose business methods, toward inefficiency. When the government guarantees dividends or insures against loss the incentive to economy and careful management disappears precisely as a high tariff often causes waste and extravagance in industry.

Has this been the history of subsidies in the United States?

It has; the best example of this is the Pacific Mail Steamship Company scandals in 1874.

Is there any more reason why ship subsidies should be granted than subsidies to coal operators or to the exploiters of any other vital necessity?

None whatever, beyond national pride and the desire of imperialists to provide a naval reserve.

Is a subsidized mercantile fleet the best kind of a reserve?

It is not, for it is a hot-house growth dependent only upon government pap and therefore in danger of being discontinued at any time for reasons of sound common sense, or for the sake of economy, or for a political motive.

Does a subsidy benefit the Americans who go to sea?

It benefits only the stockholders, that is, the ship-owners, and bears no relation to and has no effect upon wages or conditions of service.

Is any artificially stimulated industry defensible from a purely economic point of view?

It is not. Every such industry spells waste and lost motion because the service it renders can be more cheaply and usually more efficiently rendered by somebody else.

Do the American farmers or manufacturers profit in dollars and cents if their goods are carried on ships bearing the American flag?

They do not; financially it makes no difference what the flag, for the business goes to ships which can be chartered at the lowest rates.

Then there is no special money advantage because of the flag in shipping goods by American ships?

None whatever; for six decades we were wholly without a merchant fleet, but this condition of affairs never had anything to do with the development of our foreign trade which during that time grew to huge size.

Can we have a merchant fleet without government aid?

Beyond doubt, provided that we are willing to learn the business, pay the proper wages, and apply sound business principles.

Is it not true that the wages which must be paid to American seamen are so high that only government aid will overcome the difference between them and the pay of foreigners?

No; because the La Follette Act has tended to make seamen's wages uniform. Where a difference exists it must and can be overcome by greater ship efficiency.

How can we compete successfully with foreign ships?

Only by showing superior skill in construction and management, superior ingenuity and ability, precisely as we did in the clipper-ship era during which American ships led the world, largely owing to the superior business ability and seamanship of our captains and the speed of our vessels.

Is it true that the merchant fleets of England and Germany were built up by the aid of government subsidies?

It is not true; mail subsidies were paid to certain lines but straight-out blanket subsidies to all vessels such as are proposed in the pending ship-subsidy bill were never suggested in either country.

But is it not true that the Germans favored their ships by discriminating railroad rates to German goods bound overseas in German bottoms?

Such discrimination as there was of this kind was insignificant in amount and had little or nothing to do with the rise of the German merchant fleet, which won its way in open competition and because in certain quarters, as in Asiatic waters, its ships gave a superior service to that of the British.

But is it not a fact that the Americans are naturally less fitted to go to sea than the Germans, Scandinavians, and other foreigners?

Americans are inferior to no others in their adaptability for the sea, their inventiveness, their initiative, and their self-reliance. They are, on the contrary, in their natural attributes, their love of adventure, and their ability to go from one trade or business to another, ideally fitted to follow the sea for a livelihood.

Then why have they not been going to sea all these years?

Because conditions, especially on American ships, have been such that self-respecting Americans did not want to subject themselves to them; since the passage of the La Follette Act and the building of the new fleet with decent accommodations for the crew, on the theory that they are human beings, Americans are turning to the sea again wherever owners and the Shipping Board have permitted them to do so.

But if there are plenty of opportunities for young Americans on shore and there is no direct economic advantage to be gained by shippers under the American flag why should we have a merchant marine of our own?

There is today no superfluity of opportunity in America. Moreover no artery of legitimate employment should be closed to Americans. Again, there are plenty of chances of usefulness upon the seas for men of all nations, and competition on the ocean develops the manliest virtues and appeals to man's noblest traits.

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For the Heathen

By CUTHBERT WRIGHT

"AT it again," as Mr. Cruncher said to his praying wife. I refer to a cablegram in the European edition of the Chicago *Tribune* reporting a monster demonstration recently held in Brother Cram's brand-new cathedral on Morningside Heights by the Federated Council of Churches, representing the solemn thought of 150,000 congregations. In behalf of whom, in what good work? In behalf, reader, of those unfortunate, put-upon Greeks who, as you may know, ever since the days of Versailles, have stoutly robbed, harried, burned, outraged, and massacred their hereditary foes, the Turks, and then, under the leadership of King Tino and other heroes, have run away as fast as their Hellenic limbs could bear them. The Entente, having at last grown tired of employing so feeble a cow-fender as the sons of Achilles against the Turks, the proposal, instituted a year ago by the French to call it off, and rejected by the Greeks at the instigation of Mr. Lloyd George, was again put in motion; Lord Curzon and other profound statesmen of the same breed temporarily ceased from troubling, and the whole thing seemed at last to have some chance of success. At this appropriate moment, America, through the more than accredited mouths of her missionaries and politicians, suddenly wakes to the gravity of the situation. What, the nationalist Turks, late allies of the Hun, and rank heathen at that, are then to be let off scot free, with a fighting chance of retaining what small vestiges of nationality the gentlemen of Versailles were pleased to grant them! In the name of the God of missionaries and Beirut College, it shall not be. The Allied governments have, with unexpected impartiality, appointed a double commission to inquire into the alleged atrocities of both Greeks and Turks, and, since whenever there is any atrocity-sniffing to be done America is in her natural element, Mr. Harding has graciously consented to participate. But don't for a moment do the American press and the American pulpit the injustice of supposing that a word is breathed of the overwhelmingly Greek share in these misdeeds. The American press is cautious and a strong hater of innovations, more so indeed than the pulpit; "Turkish atrocities" have always proved a good drawing card, while the term "Greek atrocities" has a novel and unpleasant sound. For the Greeks are Christians, and we know, since we have all history, recent and remote, to teach us, that Christians never commit atrocities.

Dominated then by this convenient preconception, the 150,000 congregations, or their representatives, assembled in Saint John's Cathedral under the aegis of our old friend Dr. Manning of Wall Street, now a bishop and a direct successor of the Apostles. Before hitching up the pulpit stairs to deliver his sermon, the Bishop thought it a good moment to indulge in the practice so detested by Mr. Cruncher. "Let us pray," he said, "for the near East." And further: "It is deplorable that Christian nations should look on passively and apparently unmoved while Christians are being exiled and massacred. My text is taken . . . etc."

It all depends on how you look at it, or whether you look at all. One recalls a time not so long ago when Christian nations looked on "apparently unmoved" at a far more grandiose butchery between Christian peoples; nay they did more, they made money and thrived fat on it, and Christian clergymen in neutral countries, among whom, conspicuously, was Dr. Manning, whooped the dubious victor, waved flags, misbehaved in all respects like blasphemous mountebanks, petitioned their amazing anthropomorphic God for a grand peace with victory, and have ever since tacitly approved and applauded a victory without peace. I am not blaming Dr. Manning; he simply behaved during the war like a prominent present-day follower of Christ who knows that, so far as this world is concerned, our true home is not heaven but dear old England. But I know, without pretension, what Christ would have said to him, having some familiarity with the language of the Gospels. For ecclesiastics in general, and the Mannings of His time in particular, the dear Lord had notoriously not a civil word, but that is neither here nor there. What is really interesting, what is extraordinary, is the way in which this good Right Reverend soul bobs up periodically like an episcopal Jack-in-the-Box whenever there is any petitional mumbo-jumbo to be done in a particularly bad cause. You can depend on it that whenever there is a war for civilization to be waged, or a coal strike suppressed, or a crusade against Russia in the air, whenever, in short, there is the Devil's business to be done, there is Bishop Manning in the midst of us meekly lifting up his voice in supplication. He is not the only one of his kind in our country of moral crusades. As if the salvation-screaming and Methodist pest, the Dr. Straton-Chancellor Day complex, were not enough, we have, in addition, the Anglo-*Caw*thlic surpliced and celibate phenomenon, always poking about Protestant nunneries and boys' schools, and waxing outrageously rampant whenever there is a world war. The only difference between these latter-day priests and monks and the brimstone-breathing cushion-thumpers is that the latter are funny and vulgar, and the former are not funny. It is they who come offensively to the foreground whenever there is talk of chastising and suppressing the Turk.* It probably gives them a feeling that they are vaguely related to Peter the Hermit and other paladins of the ages of faith.

For this business of baiting the Turk is a very old tradition in Christian countries; it is as old as the Crusades. The majority of the Turks are Mohammedans, and Mohammedanism came into the world only three or four centuries after Christianity, and for a time led it a very close race. It would seem that the Christian imagination has never forgotten the Battle of Poitiers when, as Anatole France finely puts it, "the art, the science, and the civilization of Arabia were driven back before the barbarism of the West." Journalists with a turn for heroics and not a spark of historical realism, like Mr. G. K. Chesterton, are fond of alluding to this event as a great victory for progress. I confess to be unable to see it so. Let us take only one aspect of the tryptich suggested by M. France in the sentence above quoted.

No one would deny, I suppose, that Western art, from the days of the Catacombs to those of the Renaissance, flourished essentially under the aegis of the Christian tra-

* "A petition to the Government favoring a further dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire has been signed by fifty prominent bishops and clergymen of the Established Church."—*L'Oeuvre.*

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dition and the Christian church. To understand what that tradition has achieved in the way of art one has only to enter a modern church, or worse still, to observe what they have done to the ancient ones. Let no perfervid admirer of Brother Ralph Adams Cram and all his works now rush in with the assertion that we too have produced great religious architects, for the answer is that fanciful imitation of a form as dead as Charlemagne is not creation at all but dilettantism. When Dr. Cram, instead of serving out wedding-cake facsimiles of Peterborough and Amiens, builds us a church which expresses the spirit of the century, as certain skyscrapers and railroad termini express it, then one may be free to call him, in some sense, a creative artist. The whole case against the Gothic which, according to Dr. Cram, is to save the world, is too long to be treated here, and besides can be found, much better done, in Mr. Clive Bell's amusing book.

To turn from architecture to painting, the contribution of the Christian tradition to good art seems to have been good but brief. For if we except the best days of the Byzantines, Giotto, and a few—a very few—isolated painters from the age immediately following, what, one may justly ask, has Christianity done for art which Mohammedanism could not have done, and perhaps done better? The contribution of the classical Renaissance, and pretty nearly every period of painting since, bears about as much relation to religion as a coal shovel. As for our modern "primitives," the Tissots and Flandrins and whatnot, the less said about them the better.

To be sure, the Mohammedan artists did not go in for painting at all in the sense of representation; their religion forbade it, and what the world was saved in the way of bad art by this salutary restriction only a confirmed visitor of churches and galleries may know. Those divine artists did not waste time on the trees like a child drawing pictures, or an academic painter, but kept their eyes on a vision of the great wood; they concentrated, not on accidents of detail, "a scholarly rendering of John the Baptist's big toe" and such flummery, but on essential and significant form. Hence their masterpieces—the mosques of Egypt and Syria—give us a feeling which exists even in the amber spaces and male color of St. Sophia, originally, as every parson is eager to tell you, not a mosque at all but a Christian church. The Moslems do not "restore"; they employ one of the first of aesthetic principles—they throw out the upholstery. They would have been, it is feared, insensible to the sufferings of Archbishop Tikhon and two of his priests recently exiled by the Soviets, because the holy fathers kept back some of the church-plate and knick-knacks destined to be sold for starving babies. I suppose half the charm of a Christian, particularly a Gothic, church exists, so to speak, in its excrescences, pilasters, capitals, rood-screens, choir-stalls, paintings, sculpture, and the like. Take away all this from any but the best, and you have a vast shell, austere and noble, if you like, but not a little chilling in effect. Only Amiens or Beauvais and a very few others could endure such nudity unharmed. The primary motive of the Arab builders, on the other hand, was essential form, partly achieved by unimpeded space and light. More than often, the actual sanctuary is open to the air, with a green palm-tree aspiring in the center, a few splendid rugs, an exquisitely devised pulpit, a fountain—and really that is all. I remember such a mosque in Cairo, and I shall never forget the clean golden nakedness, the sweet austerity of that Eastern house of prayer at nightfall. They talk about the "aspiration" of a French cathedral, achieved in considerable part by some elementary conjuring with arches and colored glass. In that mosque at Cairo, that portal of eternity, everything aspired in an ecstasy achieved—the trees, the bubbling water, the quivering colors, the amber light. Two figures in snowy turbans were outlined against the dark blaze of the far wall in a dream of prayer; a youth in white rose from the pulpit and, folding up the tasseled book from which he read, descended gravely the stair, glancing at us with his black eyes as he passed. To talk about the atmosphere of such a place as if it were inferior in what is called religion to, say, Saint John's Cathedral with its 150,000 represented congregations, and Bishop Manning in the pulpit, is the merest nonsense.

I have dwelt at some length on the aesthetic aspect of the question because I think it significant of much else. Then there is that little matter of "civilization," a subject about which we frequently get much exercised in these days. The late war, for instance, is still described in speeches and official notes as a struggle for civilization, we, very naturally, incarnating the civilized and our enemies the barbarous. Our civilization as occidentals is presumed to rest on the precepts of Christianity. The fact that, officially, we have a religion that in no way corresponds to its practice by politicians and public men, including clergymen, makes no difference; the point is that we *have* the religion, one which is supposed to inculcate peace and good-will, to say nothing of acts of chivalry and mercy. This being conceded, let us glance a moment at the comparative history of the two faiths. When the army of Godfrey de Bouillion entered Jerusalem, it inaugurated the kingdom of God by massacring something like 2,000 Jews and Mohammedans. When Richard Cœur de Lion, the hero of all well-read little Christians, captured Jaffa, he killed the 300 or 400 hostages confided him. But when the Sultan Saladin retook the holy city, he not only protected the Christian population, but supplied the refugees with food and safe-conduct to the seaboard. What distinguishes Islam, after all, is its frankness. Its founder was never hailed as the Prince of Peace, leaving to his followers the peculiar art of propagating the Beatitudes by holocausts of human lives. The Moslems rushed to defend their possessions against the Crusaders, but I have yet to hear that they decimated whole populations of their own folk for the sake of the conjunction "and" and the prepositions "trans" and "con." It is the merest pedantry to multiply these instances; let us take a more recent one. Nowhere in the history of Islam, in no way a religion of peace in the Christian sense, is a sadder and more comic spectacle than that afforded so very lately of German divines exhorting their hearers to perforate Englishmen with machine-guns because they were English, of mild Anglican bishops inviting their congregations to disembowel Germans because they were Germans, or of Christians of all creeds adjuring the God of Peace to referee on their side.

This is not intended to be a documented study; it represents only a few variations on the theme *pro patria* suggested by the newspaper paragraph mentioned above. Turkey is, to be sure, not our *patria;* perhaps we shall never see it again. But I would rather believe men like Pierre Loti and Claude Farrère, who have known the Turks intimately and been their companions, than Mr. Chesterton, obliged for reasons of livelihood to produce 3,000 words a

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week, or Bishop Manning, obliged for the same reasons to deliver professional sermons. If the reader is thirsty for documents, let him read the four volumes which Pierre Loti has written on Turkey since the armistice, or examine the photographs of Greek atrocities exposed in Mr. Duncan's Paris workshop, rue Jacob. From the former he will learn that the English Tommy's saying about the Turk being the only gentleman in the war is no jest; from the mouths of soldiers, nurses, chaplains he will discover that these barbarians were, time and time again, chivalrous and pitiful to a degree that would be remarkable even in a Christian; while from the photographs he will learn of what those poor, persecuted Greeks are also capable. We have space for only one story; it is instructive and it is true. A French boat was bombarded very near the shore, so near that a proportion of the crew was enabled to save itself by hard swimming. Turkish soldiers actually entered the water to aid the survivors, and after the latter had been fed and reclothed, they were marched to the nearest camp. On the way they were slightly jostled and jeered at by the bystanders. The French complained of this treatment to the Turkish officer in charge of the detachment, who replied with the disdain of which only his race is capable: "Do you not see? They are almost all Greeks."

Equality Laws *vs.* Women in Government

By ANNE MARTIN

THOSE of us who believe that the backwardness of women is retarding the race should consider earnestly the question: Do "equality laws" equalize? Experience shows that the chief equality law, the one giving the vote, has not brought women equal opportunity or position in human affairs. We need cast only a glance at national and State government, at political parties, business, industry, the professions, all still controlled by men, to see that this is so. Millions of women are still safe in their houses, the drudges of our world, "being supported," many of them doing twelve or more hours a day in their homes as unpaid workers. Other millions are earning their living as teachers, nurses, stenographers, clerks, factory workers, domestic servants, and charwomen, all poorly paid or menial occupations, but the only ones obtainable, with the exception of a comparative few attained by pioneers in higher fields. And we see the League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party, the successors of the two great suffrage organizations which won the vote, still doggedly pegging along after "equality," which the vote was supposed to confer. Both back at the old job, they are pursuing slightly different lines.

The League of Women Voters decided at its recent annual convention to work for training in citizenship, unification of laws concerning women, and for a law to prevent American women losing their citizenship if they marry foreign husbands. The National Woman's Party's program is its "blanket bill" in the State legislatures, designed to remove all legal discriminations against women in the forty-eight States, thus preparing the way to clinch equality by securing a national constitutional amendment declaring equality the law of the land.

The aims of these organizations are of course above criticism. No man or woman can deny the justice of the admirable laws they seek, but the question inevitably arises in the minds of those who wish women to speed on that the race may speed on: Will they accomplish their purpose, the removal of all remaining forms of the subjection of women, *actual equality*, by getting more laws? Are they not taking the shadow for the substance? In raising this question I do not overlook the fact that this work has unquestioned educational value, but I think even the education of women to their real status could be more quickly accomplished by a more direct attack. We have the vote, an absolutely necessary tool in woman's fight for political equality, whatever may be its effectiveness as a weapon for wresting human rights for men and women from our political government. Why then not use this tool ourselves to knock down all remaining barriers to equality? Why continue to stand at the doors of Congress and State legislatures begging men to vote for our new equality laws? Let women work for more laws if they want to—a few may be technically necessary—but why not at the same time work for the election of qualified women, irrespective of party, to Congress and State legislatures? Is it not more direct, more educational, more "equalizing," to put women into power, pledged to the aims of women, than it is to continue to use the "indirect influence," the "womanly appeal" of ante-suffrage days? It would not even be necessary, to begin with, to elect as many women as men to legislative bodies. European experience shows that a small group can do much. Dr. Gertrud Bäumer, perhaps the ablest woman member of the German Reichstag, recently told me that the thirty-seven women in that body are asked by the men members to caucus on woman's measures. The Reichstag then follows the decision of the caucus. But women in government on a "fifty-fifty" basis with men should be the goal. (I made this remark lately to Lady Astor. She said instantly, "Yes, but you must be sure and have the *right* fifty!")

If, on the other hand, our leading organizations continue to work for equality laws by practically the same methods they used as unenfranchised women (unavoidably prolonging the sex appeal and the "inferiority complex" in the minds of many), and if, after years of effort, these laws are placed on the statute books, the greatest inequality of all will remain: women will still be outside the pale of the real game of politics, and government, life itself, will still be controlled by men, who can administer the new laws practically as they please. Equality laws will not and cannot equalize, any more than declaring the earth flat can make it flat. But the process of winning a half-share in government will go a long way toward developing a sense of equality in the minds and hearts of women. And then the laws will take care of themselves.

We can benefit in this very important matter by the experience of Englishwomen, who in some ways are a generation ahead of us. Those thirty years of age won the right to vote and to sit in Parliament near the close of the war in 1918. Dissatisfied with this concession, which they saw left them still outside government walls, with laws, the professions, business, and industry discriminating against them, they persuaded the coalition leaders just before the

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General Election in 1918 to pledge themselves "to remove all existing inequalities in the law as between men and women." In 1919 the Coalition Government passed the so-called Sex Disqualification Removal Act, hailing it as the "Woman's Charter of Liberty." I remember we heralded it in the United States as the second great "Act of Emancipation." Its opening words seemed nobly and generously to promise the dawn of a new freedom:

> A person shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from the exercise of any public function, or from being appointed to or holding any civil or judicial office or post, or from entering on or assuming or carrying on any civil profession or vocation, and a person shall not be exempted by sex or marriage from the liability to serve as a juror.

But after this sweeping opening statement come certain qualifying clauses which give the appointment of women to the civil service into the hands of their hoary old enemy, the Treasury, and give to courts and judges the right to call women as jurors. A certain piece of portentous language in the Act seems to open up the whole field of higher education on absolutely equal terms, but on analysis it merely gives Oxford and Cambridge permission to admit women if they want to! (Women were admitted to the other universities of the United Kingdom some time before this act was passed. Oxford has used this permission to admit them, but Cambridge still refuses.)

So, excluding its noble beginning, the total accomplishment of the second Magna Charta, when carefully inspected, appears to be: To allow women to become magistrates, barristers, or solicitors, to serve as jurors if judges let them, and to enter Oxford and Cambridge if the University authorities approve! Lady Rhondda's petition for a seat in the House of Lords as a peeress in her own right was based on the Magna Charta's opening words: "A person shall not be disqualified by sex or marriage from exercising any public function." Her petition was denied, under the leadership of the Lord Chancellor (formerly Mr. F. E. Smith, now Lord Birkenhead, and a powerful member of the Coalition Government which passed the act), on the ground that sitting and legislating in the House of Lords is not a public function! And women, of whom there are two million more than men in the United Kingdom, continue to be dismissed in large numbers from the civil service, as policewomen, as teachers, doctors, and even charwomen to make room for men. They are also dismissed upon marriage, the authorities snapping their fingers at the Magna Charta, which Lady Rhondda herself now describes as a "dud," "a mere scrap of paper."

Thus Englishwomen have learned to beware of politicians bearing gifts, and to be wary of equality laws. They are now preparing to *take* equality, by taking a half-share in government. A slogan of the Woman's Freedom League, the former suffrage society, led by dauntless Mrs. Despard, is "three hundred women for Parliament." While American women's organizations do not yet venture even to indorse qualified women for public office, the leading English organizations, through a joint committee, are seeking qualified candidates, and not only indorsing them, but raising the campaign funds, often the chief obstacle to a woman's candidacy, for their election. They are achieving a sense of sex solidarity perhaps never before achieved by women. While I was in London recently a prominent militant suffragist was indorsed for Parliament by the National Union for Equal Citizenship, which as a suffrage society under Mrs. Henry Fawcett feelingly opposed Mrs. Pankhurst's methods. This would be almost like the National League of Women Voters indorsing Miss Alice Paul for Congress, and certainly indicates a unity of action we have not yet won in America.

Is not this significant English movement worthy of earnest consideration by the National League of Women Voters and the National Woman's Party? Just as Englishwomen gave us the final spur that won suffrage, may they not now be showing us the way to win equality? Of those who wish to quicken the advance of the race by quickening women I ask this question: Is it not possible our American organizations have got hold of this "equality" stick by the wrong end? Instead of plodding after this will-o'-the-wisp of "equality" laws, should they not about face, and march together toward Government itself, bastioned and buttressed against them? That way lies at any rate a more certain hope of "equality."

[*A presentation of the other side of the case, written by Zona Gale independently of the above article, will appear in the next issue under the title* What Women Won in Wisconsin.]

In Support of Hiram Johnson

[By Telegraph]

San Francisco, California, August 4

To The Nation, *New York City, N. Y.*

I am making no reply to The Nation's *article. If* The Nation *can afford to be the instrument for the expression of the malice and mendacity of a disgruntled and defeated past-master in the corrupt expenditure of money in politics, I cannot with equanimity accept the situation. I am now in the very midst of a bitter struggle with the reactionary forces of California. Your article is designed to affect the contest and to aid these reactionary forces. It is written not as survey of the political situation, or the two candidates, or the opposing groups, but as an attack upon one, and a nasty, untrue, and malicious attack at that. It will not, fortunately, affect the result in California. It can only affect the estimation in which some people have held* The Nation.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON

[By Telegraph]

Los Angeles, California, August 3

SENATOR HIRAM JOHNSON has just received from *The Nation* an advance proof of an article written by George P. West, entitled Hiram Johnson After Twelve Years, with a request that Senator Johnson reply to the article in the same issue should he desire to do so. This has been impossible, because the proof forwarded from Washington did not reach the Senator in the mails until today.

I am taking the liberty of wiring you in regard to this communication because for a number of years I was Senator Johnson's private secretary and am, therefore, more or less intimately familiar with the political events in his career upon which Mr. West's criticisms are based. Also for several years I was associated with Mr. West in the reportorial rooms of a San Francisco newspaper, and our personal relations have always been cordial.

The most serious accusation made by Mr. West against Senator Johnson's personal and political integrity is contained in the statement that the Senator took part in defeating William Kent, candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator in the California primaries of 1920, and that this alleged part in Kent's defeat amounted to a betrayal of the cause of honest and liberal politics.

Mr. West was the paid publicity director of Mr. Kent's cam-

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paign for the senatorial nomination in 1920. Prior to that time he had been an avowed friend and admirer of Senator Johnson, and was the author of articles published in leading magazines praising the Senator and his public career. In 1920, while directing the publicity for Mr. Kent's candidacy, Mr. West wrote to Senator Johnson a personal appeal, to throw his support to Mr. Kent. Senator Johnson adhered to the course he had always pursued of taking no personal part between primary candidates for the nomination of his own party. He did not indorse either Mr. Kent or his successful opponent, Senator Shortridge. Senator Johnson's paramount issue in 1920 was his opposition to the League of Nations. Mr. Kent straddled this issue, making a mild declaration for reservations to the Covenant. Mr. Shortridge announced himself boldly as an irreconcilable opponent of the League. Many of Senator Johnson's followers in California aided Mr. Shortridge because of his attitude on the outstanding issue. The Senator himself, however, refrained from indicating any preference for either candidate by any public word or act.

Mr. Kent, perhaps not unnaturally, in view of the human equation involved, has bitterly resented Senator Johnson's refusal to aid his candidacy, and is now actively supporting the Senator's opponent, Mr. C. C. Moore, in the present senatorial primary campaign. He has issued for publication in California a number of statements attacking Senator Johnson, and I think that those who have read them carefully will concur in the comment that Mr. West's article for *The Nation* is largely a rehash of those statements.

Mr. Kent, who was a member of the tariff commission under President Wilson, is virtually a free trader. In his published statements he has assailed Senator Johnson's successful efforts to obtain high protective tariffs on California's principal agricultural products. Mr. West makes substantially the same criticisms in his article prepared for *The Nation.*

Mr. Kent, utterly ignoring the fact that Senator Johnson was a leader in the fight in the Senate to preserve freedom of speech and of the press during and after the war, has accused Senator Johnson of remaining silent and inactive upon the issue of civil liberties. Mr. West, in his article, makes the same accusations with the same omissions, merely citing one or two instances in which the Senator did not personally intervene to save individuals from prison.

Here I must quote Mr. West: "One of his [Senator Johnson's] talking-points against Kent was that Kent had subscribed $500 to the I. W. W. defense fund in 1918 and had helped the Nonpartisan League." Senator Johnson has never talked in public against Mr. Kent, and I have it upon his authority that he never made the statements quoted.

Declaring that Johnson had knifed Kent because he disliked him and because Kent was too independent, Mr. West makes the statement that nearly every conspicuous liberal who led the 1910 fight against the Southern Pacific Railroad machine, when Hiram Johnson was elected Governor of California, has suffered the same fate. This is flatly untrue, and in support of his statement Mr. West cites only three individuals in addition to Kent. They are Francis J. Heney, Chester H. Rowell, and Rudolph Spreckels. Mr. Spreckels has let it be known that he is for Johnson in the present campaign. Chester Rowell, as everybody in California knows, has opposed Senator Johnson solely on the League of Nations and Four Power Pact issues. Mr. West, rather incongruously, praises Senator Johnson's fight against the League of Nations in another part of his article in the following words: "His service in helping to defeat the Versailles treaty cannot be minimized and his opposition to the Four Power Pact this year was even better."

The great majority of Senator Johnson's political friends and associates have remained with him steadfastly since the beginning of his public life. Senator Johnson's opponent in the present campaign, Mr. C. C. Moore, is a wealthy conservative who has never been identified with the liberal movement in California and whose principal support now comes from the Los Angeles *Times*, the San Diego *Union*, the San Francisco *Journal*, and other anti-liberal and anti-labor newspapers, which have bitterly fought every step in the progressive movement from its inception. Mr. Kent has now aligned himself with these newspapers and their reactionary following in a common cause to defeat Johnson.

In attacking Senator Johnson for his alleged failure to join actively in support of an initiative water and power development act sponsored by Mr. Kent, which will be put upon the California ballot this year, Mr. West cites the entirely irrelevant fact that a number of the regents of the University of California are power company officials. Then, with further irrelevance, he attacked David P. Barrows, president of the university, because Dr. Barrows once denied Raymond Robins the privilege of speaking on the university campus on the subject of the Russian revolution. By no stretch of the imagination could Senator Johnson have had any connection with this incident. Mr. Robins is one of Senator Johnson's most intimate political and personal friends and advisers, and the Senator threw all of his influence in the Senate toward giving Mr. Robins the full hearing which he obtained there on the Russian question just after the war. Incidentally it may be mentioned that President Barrows is regarded as one of Senator Johnson's political opponents, and was recently prominently mentioned as a possible candidate for Johnson's seat in the Senate.

I have not attempted to deal with all of Mr. West's misstatements, but I have dwelt upon some of them at such length in order to present to you a series of facts, upon which I challenge contradiction, that would seem to deal pertinently with the question whether Mr. West's article is "judicial and impartial," as was suggested by the Editor in his accompanying letter, and whether it is "an unbiased estimate of the situation in California, uninfluenced either by personal friendship or personal dislike."

F. R. HAVENNER

In the Driftway

IT is a pity that so many unimaginative persons are permitted to make observations on life—observations which speedily become hackneyed and unusable by anyone else. For instance, when the Drifter passes acres of Jersey marshes, flat, smoky, broken only by cinder tracks and factory chimneys, and when he sees rose mallow growing profusely in the heart of all this dulness and flatness he would be moved to make some very interesting remarks on beauty in the midst of pain and so on if Harold Bell Wright and his friends had not already run the subject to the ground. The silver lining is no longer a subject which a reputable person cares to discuss; it lies on the rubbish heap of literature along with the happy ending and lifting the mortgage on the old homestead.

* * * * *

IF censors of books ever have any reason for existing—and the Drifter has grave doubts on the subject—it will be when they begin a campaign against these persons who, by stressing certain aspects of human relations and omitting others, turn out either a sickeningly sweet or a distressingly sour mess and call it a representation of life. And the Drifter would like to see the purveyors of sweet goods censored first. They are the ones who have robbed honest realists of innumerable themes which are as much a part of life as battle, murder, and sudden death. There is, for example, the theme of the poor boy who by his own efforts rises to wealth and power—only the most courageous of writers dares to touch it, yet nothing is more typical of America; there is the girl from the country betrayed and

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cast aside by a chance city visitor—and a whole cycle of joy and misery lies therein, but it is marked Touch at Your Own Risk, and the risk is very great. There is hardly a profoundly moving or passionate situation that ever occurred but has been slimed over by the finger of ineptitude. What wonder that novelists have taken to exploring and trying to transcribe the thoughts of men and women without much regard for their actions. And doubtless the miserable tribe of copyists and second raters will presently break into that field also.

* * * * *

ALL of which is a far cry, the Drifter admits, from the Jersey marshes and rose mallow. And yet so affecting does he find this matter that out of pure spite he must remark that there are also mosquitoes and strike guards in these very marshes, making them more obnoxious than ever; and that the life of the mallow is so short that presently the whole region will sink back into its original ooze, where it plainly belongs. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Visible Music

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The possibilities of color music are so real and so enticing, and the claims made by Thomas Wilfred for his Clavilux so modest, that one hesitates to put any damper on the enthusiasm of the apostles of the new art. Nevertheless, the emotions called forth are by no means always those described by Mr. Vail and other critics; and those who fail to receive from Mr. Wilfred's performances pure aesthetic enjoyment are not only the "occasional individual with nerves insensitive to rhythmic optical impressions." In fact, those performances have limitations that detract very seriously from such enjoyment. These may be classified under three heads: First, there is the exceedingly irritating iridescence between color surfaces which comes, seemingly, from the play of light upon the edges of beveled glass. Second, there is the tedious repetition of two movements: upward flow and rotation. What would the "sensitive" beholder not give, after watching for half an hour varying series of rotating glasses of smoky celery and crocuses dissolving in gloom, for a single streak of lightning from the left bottom corner to the top right corner! Third, and most important of all, the purity of the color itself, the complete absence of texture, watched for a length of time, leaves unsatisfied a growing hunger for substance, for character, such as inheres in the timbre of any musical instrument, including the human voice, or the drawing of the most ethereal painting.

Mr. Vail might have added to his examples of modern art that point in the direction of color music Claude Monet's marvelous series of pond pictures which it was our privilege recently to see in their entirety in New York. But Whistler and Monet and the Futurists and Post-Impressionists do not merely arouse vague, dreamy longings; their art consists, on the contrary, in giving those longings a deep satisfaction—and that cannot be achieved without the aid of texture, of robust design, of "coming to earth." As it is, the seeker for visible music yet goes with eagerness from the Clavilux to a moderately well-staged ballet.

New York, August 1 BRUNO LASKER

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In reference to your article of December 28 entitled Damaged Panaceas it may interest you to know that the following information regarding the plan of employees' representation instituted in the coal mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company has been issued in Denver by the management of the company:

Our plan of joint representation of employees and management provides that "There shall be no discrimination by the management or by any of the employees on account of membership or non-membership in any society, fraternity, or union."

As a matter of fact, a considerable portion of our miners are, at least intermittently, members of the United Mine Workers of America. In the past, except in 1919, coal miners in Colorado, both union and non-union, have quite generally responded to strike calls issued by the international organization.

During the present strike all of our properties have operated continuously with the exception of two mines in one district where, for more than thirty years, the men have generally been active members of the union. At these two mines secret votes taken before April 1 showed a majority in favor of remaining at work, and since then there have been some indications of a desire on the part of the miners to resume operations.

In our two larger fields, the Trinidad and Walsenburg districts, our coal output since April 1 has been normal. In fact, it has exceeded the demands of our markets. The few men who refrained from work the first day or two of April have practically all returned and some of the mines are operating with larger average forces than before the strike.

New York, July 15 JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

Justice to the A. F. of L.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The reviewer of my "What's What in the Labor Movement," in your issue of June 7, generously remarks that "the only fault one can find with Mr. Browne and his dictionary is a lack of detail here and there where detail is much needed." Any attempt to cover the labor movement of the world in one moderately sized volume must of necessity involve no little slurring of detail, and I should be glad indeed if this were the only fault of my book. But in support of his statement your reviewer has inadvertently selected an example which, as far as this particular fault is concerned, is probably less vulnerable than almost any other which he might have chosen. Anarchism, he says, "is given a page and quarter, and the American Federation of Labor only a page and three-quarters. Judged by their relative importance in the American labor movement either Anarchism should get a quarter of a page or the A. F. of L. four pages." As a matter of fact, the various entries in my book which are specifically devoted to the A. F. of L. amount to nearly seven pages, in addition to numerous details which are incidentally mentioned in other entries. By way of illustrating certain points that should have been included, your reviewer cites my failure to state that the Federation has no power to call strikes, and adds: "That it has this power is one of the most prevalent misconceptions of the uninformed." But it is my understanding that the Federation *does* have this power and exercises it frequently, not, of course, in connection with the autonomous national or international unions, but in the case of the so-called "federal labor unions" and "local trade unions" which affiliate directly with the Federation—a not inconsiderable fraction of its membership.

Wyoming, New York, June 8 WALDO R. BROWNE

Contributors to This Issue

CUTHBERT WRIGHT is an American writer now living in Paris.

ANNE MARTIN was professor of history in Nevada State University, 1897-99; leader of Nevada Equal Suffrage campaign, 1911-14; chairman of National Woman's Party, 1916-17; Independent candidate for United States Senator from Nevada, 1918 and 1920.

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Then While Alive We Be

By JOHN McCLURE

He who is dead foregoes
Windhorns and piccoloes,
Cannot hear tambourines,
Cymbals nor violins.

Quiet of the grave denies
All of life's minstrelsies.
Silence of death forgets
Snaredrums and castanets.

All sounds harmonious
Death shall remove from us.
Then while alive we be,
We should love poetry.

Firewood

By RAYMOND HOLDEN

The glittering crescent of my blade
Is stuck with juices of the tree:
There is the wound which I have made,
There are the dark boughs over me.
I swing the axe. The cones are shaken
And the shuddering tree begins to come
With ripping shrieks which might awaken
The gorged fox in his hidden home.
My blood is brightened and my eyes
Are blurred with flashes of a fire
That leaps like wind and only dies
When I have cut what I require.
The fresh chips falling in the snow
Have something for the sunny wind
Which rose a little while ago
In the old spruce forest I have thinned,
And I whose cheeks can feel it blow
Rest aching hands upon my ax
And have a desperate wish to know
What kind of flame my chimney lacks. . . .
Why covet skeletons for food
To keep a man from stiffening
With cold not made to chill the blood
Of fox's foot or bird's wing?

Books

Books and Characters

Books and Characters. By Lytton Strachey. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

THESE fourteen essays and reviews show Lytton Strachey at his worst as well as at his best; his worst is not more reprehensible than mere competence, and his best is of a kind that he alone seems able to furnish. To be explicit, the volume contains Mr. Strachey's estimate of Racine, modestly suggestive rather than definitive; a few observations, of no particular originality, on the prose of Sir Thomas Browne; an interpretation of Shakespeare's final period; a note on the inadequacy of Dr. Johnson's canonical criticism; a priceless portrait of Madame du Deffand; a relegation of Voltaire's tragedies to their proper scrap-heap, and a reconsideration of certain phases of their author's biography, notably his relations with the fat Frederick; a defense of Diderot and Grimm against those who accused these gentlemen of dishonesty in their blackening of Rousseau's character; a recommendation, carefully supported, of John Sampson's edition of Blake as superior to all other editions of the poet; a reminder to the public that there once lived a poet named Thomas Lovell Beddoes who was not wholly devoid of merit; an indifferent essay on Stendhal; a brief history of the incredible Lady Hester Stanhope, chiefly remarkable as a nasal pantoum; and a sketch of one Thomas Creevy, who in the role of diarist irreverently accompanied Clio during "that part of her progress which is measured by the thirty years preceding the accession of Victoria."

From this varied and unequal collection the portrait of Madame du Deffand stands superbly forth: it is a masterpiece by a man who has a number of masterpieces to his credit. Herein the Marquise becomes an unforgettable figure; thenceforward we must see her clearly, and always as Mr. Strachey would have us see her; she lives for us through his eyes. She was "perhaps the most typical representative of that phase of civilization which came into existence in Western Europe during the early years of the eighteenth century, and reached its most concentrated and characteristic form about the year 1750 in the drawing-rooms of Paris." We shall remember her as the woman who was the Regent's mistress for a fortnight, in days when a fortnight was accounted a considerable time. We see her sunk in her great armchair, receiving every evening a circle of guests which scarcely varied; directing the conversation which never flagged, a conversation in which earnestness was the most unpardonable crime; or driving to the home of "one of her still extant dowagers" to join there the same company that was accustomed to gather in her own salon; or playing vingt-et-un until seven in the morning with Charles Fox rather than face the horror of bed. We see in her a woman who outlived her age, who heard the hand of the younger generation at the door and exclaimed in answer: "Pour aujourd'hui, tout me paraît détestable: acteurs, auteurs, musiciens, beaux esprits, philosophes, tout est de mauvais goût, tout est affreux, affreux." A woman disillusioned regarding all things, bored, bitter, ironic, who found no joy in friendships and who yet could humble herself before a man who had inspired her with passionate affection; a blind old woman of seventy, a notable cynic in an age of cynicism, enchained by her emotions like a girl of seventeen. The ironist need not deal in fictions!

And as Mr. Strachey gives new life to his central character he also reanimates the society in which she played so prominent a part. We come to believe in these distant men and women who believed in nothing save urbanity, but who would have considered it unutterable taste to prate of their skepticism; a group dedicated wholly to the practice of social graces as it knew them; living with doors and windows tight shut against the noises of the street, with minds insulated against fresh currents of thought. In the salon of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse the Encyclopedists, under the banner of D'Alembert, built on the ruins of old faiths; Madame du Deffand and her friends were content to walk gracefully amid the broken stones. At most the Maréchale de Luxembourg might exclaim, after one glance into the Bible: "Quel ton! Quel effroyable ton!" When David Hume was received at the home of Baron d'Holbach the philosopher announced that he had never met an atheist and was promptly informed that he was then in the company of seventeen; at Madame du Deffand's he might have met an even greater number, but the crude fact would have remained unemphasized.

After finishing this biographical essay one speaks glibly of its author's method, but the exact nature of that method remains at least partially a puzzle. It consists, perhaps, primarily in

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the unobtrusiveness of the biographer and in the use that he makes of his hidden position. Facts are never obviously colored, but they are selected with the care of a special pleader and they come to us in a certain tone of voice. We are seldom conscious of the pressure that turns our head, that orients us in relation to the subject; but that pressure is unfailing. A feature or an action is illuminated by a light so discreetly thrown that we think it emanates from the object under inspection, never suspecting its external point of departure; but experience proves that the cunning ray is directed by the concealed Mr. Strachey. Seldom does the author comment so frankly as when he writes of the correspondence of Madame du Deffand and Horace Walpole: "Sometimes one catches the glimpse of a paw beneath the soft pad, a grimace under the smile of elegance; and one remembers with a shock that, after all, one is reading the correspondence of a monkey and a cat." Had the biographer followed his accustomed method he would have delicately and merely suggested the simian and feline traits.

The dual nature of the volume, suggested by its title, confirms an impression made by its author's other writings: as a critic of literature Lytton Strachey is not superior to a number of his contemporaries, but as a critic and interpreter of character he is at present unexcelled. When he estimates the value of Voltaire's tragedies or seeks to judge the height of Racine's mountain; when he argues that the latinity of Sir Thomas Browne's prose is exaggerated (an argument repeated by various critics since the day of the first exaggerator); when he dwells on the quintessential Frenchness of Henri Beyle—at such times he is doing work that others can, and do, perform as well. But when he plays biographer to Madame du Deffand, or works with the lesser materials furnished by Lady Hester Stanhope and Mr. Creevy, he exercises talents peculiarly his own in a province to which they are ideally suited. Were one as relentless as Joubert—who tore from every book all pages save those that he considered best—one might deal harshly with Mr. Strachey's books, but one would surely treasure all his characters.

BEN RAY REDMAN

Syntheses

Landmarks of Early Christianity. By Kirsopp Lake. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

ONE who is interested to know the most advanced position of modern scholarship with regard to the beginnings of Christianity cannot do better than read this little book. It escapes the pitfalls which books of its sort usually present to the lay reader; it is not dull or technical or pedantic. It is both brilliant and scholarly.

The history of Christianity, Mr. Lake contends, is the history of a series of syntheses whereby a Jewish sect adapted itself to the thought and practice of the Roman world. It met and made terms with the Oriental cults, with popular Platonic metaphysics, with Stoic ethics, and finally in the early Middle Ages with the philosophy of Aristotle. "There has been no synthetic progress in theology since the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, for it is impossible for the student of history to feel that the Reformation can be regarded as a synthesis. . . . It is absolutely certain that the world will once again some day achieve what it has often had and often lost—the closer approximation of knowledge and aspiration—so that its religious system may satisfy the soul of the saint without disgusting the intellect of the scholar. What is uncertain is whether this achievement will be made by any form of organized Christianity or is reserved for some movement which cannot at present be recognized."

It is to the earlier stages of this synthetic process that Mr. Lake confines himself, and rather picturesquely he identifies them with different centers of the Christian movement—Galilee, Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Rome, and Ephesus. The distinctive characteristic of these various cults was their offer of supernatural salvation to individuals and this offer Hellenistic Christianity persuasively held forth. "The church conquered the world by offering salvation through a redeeming Lord. Jesus made no such offer: to Him the Kingdom of God, the pearl of great price, was the natural inheritance of men, if they would only take it. . . . It did not conquer the world. Nor did Jesus—the Jesus of history—think that it would do so. 'Strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leadeth unto Life, and few there are that find it.' . . . Not the men who had known Jesus, but those who had not, converted the Roman Empire, and their gospel was that of the Cross, Resurrection, and Parousia, not the Sermon on the Mount, or . . . a moral *imitatio Christi*."

Paul's work—notably at Corinth—made "sacramental Christianity with an emphasis on morality the true characteristic of the church." It was later, however, at Rome, at Ephesus, and finally at Alexandria that the synthesis of Greek metaphysics with Christianity was achieved. This process involved a struggle between Adoptionism—that is, the doctrine of Jesus as the inspired and perfect man become God—and the doctrine of the Eternal Logos who became man. The latter won, though Adoptionism left its legacy in the belief that the Christian became the adopted son of God, joint heir with Christ, or, in "the splendid paradox of Irenaeus and Athanasius," that God became man in order that man might become God.

Any criticism of this theory of the development of Christianity would demand a scholarship as ample as Mr. Lake's own and to that the reviewer makes no pretentions whatsoever. He can only indicate a few points at which he himself would put question marks opposite Mr. Lake's arguments. How much weight has Dean Inge's argument that if the Romans had seen in Christianity only a more ethical Oriental cult, they would never have hurled at Christians the common reproach of atheism? Was the human Jesus not a more significant figure than Mr. Lake would seem to imply? May not Mr. Lake's reconstruction of the development of Christianity in successive stages connected with different centers achieve brilliance and logical progress at the price of undue simplification? Is not Mr. Lake a bit too fond of *obiter dicta*, as for example in his remarks on immortality and on the ethics of non-resistance? It is an example of Mr. Lake's fair-mindedness, however, that he includes in his book a note by a friend in criticism of his own tentative theory of the immortality of life rather than of personality. He admits that Jesus was a pacifist and a non-resistant—"it is futile to argue that when he [Jesus] said 'resist not evil' and 'love your enemies' He sanctioned the patriotic pursuit of war." Mr. Lake refutes Jesus's position by saying: "It is as culpable not to use force when occasion requires as it is to use it when occasion does not." But when and what kind of force does the occasion require? Is there no distinction between a legitimate use of force and the violence of war?

Aside from these questions there is another inquiry which a book like this insistently raises. Mr. Lake's closing words are these: "The man who tries merely to repeat the thoughts or the words of the past generations forgets that the call which comes to the teacher is not to repeat what others have said because they have said it, but to say what is true because it is true, and to say it in the language of his own time that it may be intelligible. He will often appear to contradict the thought or the language of Jesus or of Paul or of Origen, but he will be loyal to the purpose which was theirs, and yet so much more than theirs." Not a few who still call themselves Christians, one ventures to suspect, would agree with this position though they might not accept all Mr. Lake's critical conclusions. The doctrine is good, but it is opposed to every conception of the authoritative nature of Christianity from Catholicism to Ritchlianism. Might not religion fare better if men whose desire is "to accomplish the purpose of God, the God who is life" but who have been obliged to reject the authority of the religious tradition in which they were nurtured, should abandon names —such as the name of "Christian"—that, however dear to memory, are divisive and misleading, and frankly acknowledge themselves as members of the company of those who seek truth?

NORMAN THOMAS

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Sacred and Profane Love

Kimono. By John Paris. Boni and Liveright. $2.

THERE is no good objecting that "Kimono" is propaganda; it is frankly that and Mr. Paris's "purpose" is the source of his strength. His novel is good entertainment chiefly because he did not write it as such, and Bunyan-like he achieves art as a by-product. For three years he lived in Japan and he carries conviction because he has not yet recovered from the shock which his observations gave him. The story tells how Geoffrey Barrington, a young Englishman of the simple soldierman type, disregards the advice of his more sophisticated friends and takes his Japanese wife, Asako, for a visit to her native land. He sees the famous procession of courtesans in the Yoshiwara and revolts at the stupid brutality of Japanese debauchery only to find that the source of his wife's wealth is the Yoshiwara itself; but the purpose of the story is merely to afford in the course of its ramifications means to exhibit scene after scene in Japanese life shocking to Western eyes because these scenes are the product of an alien attitude toward the mystery of love. Public prostitution is represented not merely as a breaking out of a universal evil but as a symbol of the sacrifice of what is regarded as the inferior sex and an indication of a Japanese refusal to distinguish between love and lust. In the same way the machinations of Asaka's relatives in the effort to separate her from her husband are not merely a piece of melodramatic villany but the logical result of regarding marriage merely as a matter of family policy. To the Japanese, according to Mr. Paris, love is not a god; they are evil not because of their vices but because they think them virtues; and it is the thesis of the book that there can be no real union between the East and the West as long as to one love is divine and woman a goddess while to the other passion is a trivial, impersonal diversion and obedience woman's only virtue. Japan may not become a sister of the Occidental nations until she has been taught the religion of romantic love.

Mr. Paris has some defects as an observer of foreign customs because he is at times, like his hero, a little bit hazy on distinctions between insular Good Form and morality, but on the whole his account carries conviction. Greece and Rome may have grown great with a theory of love not vastly different from that attributed to the Japanese, but the medieval deification of passion has entered deeply into our souls and it has justified itself by the additional richness which it has given to life so that we are not likely to have much spiritual communion with a race which robs life of any save trivial passion. Japan may change and sociologists may quarrel with Mr. Paris's somewhat dogmatic "East is East and West is West" attitude, but, sociology aside, "Kimono" is an interesting novel because it brings fundamental traits of soul in conflict and nothing more than the somewhat prosy straightforwardness of its manner is necessary to make drama of the meeting of The Honorable Geoffrey Barrington with the tribe of Fujinami. If from this point on the reviewer takes issue with the author upon certain matters, he means it not as a disparagement but as a tribute to the novel's power to provoke discussion.

In contrast with Japan, Mr. Paris implies a rather unconvincingly rosy picture of Great Britain as the paradise of love, and he has a way of advancing somewhat over-subtle excuses for Western deviation from theory. He has, for instance, no illusions concerning the fact that ladies may be bought, or rather rented, upon Piccadilly as readily as in the Yoshiwara, but he finds our lack of frankness upon the matter a virtue. "Our hypocrisy itself," he says, "is an admission of guilt and an act of worship. To us, even the readiest sinners among us, woman is always something divine." Though this is a sufficiently familiar point of view it is always a little puzzling to those temperaments who admire integrity and harmony of soul and to whom even frank sensuality seems less disgusting than a chronic and complacent conviction of sin. What Mr. Paris does not see very clearly is the fact that, theory aside, the actual practice of the East and West in regard to love is directed toward the same end—the control as far as possible of a disturbing factor in ordinary life. The Japanese are taught to regard it as something trivial and unimportant, the Anglo-Saxon as something conveniently half-divine and half-obscene—the one when it does not interfere with more important matters and the other when it does. The deification of passion which Mr. Paris assumes as the background of Western life leads straight to the theory that love is enough, and this is the religion upon which we love to enlarge; but none is more ready than the Anglo-Saxon to cry fool or knave at anyone who tries to put it into practice where either property rights or domestic order and seemliness are at stake and none is more ready than he to assume that the distinction between love and lust is a merely legal one. Meanwhile, of course, prostitution may go merrily on upon Piccadilly or Broadway and marriage cover all the sins of the flesh as long as they are not mentioned often enough to embarrass the romantic religion. Low and barren as the attitude attributed to the Japanese is, it has at least the merit of consistency, while that of the West is so hopelessly confused that it takes the genius of a Havelock Ellis to disentangle the ideas of purity and frigidity and to convince the respectable that a pure woman may have passions while not even he can persuade a public to legalize what everybody practices. One may if one likes call the actual practice of the Anglo-Saxons in regulating their love life "the triumphant British compromise," but other temperaments have another name—muddling through. Mr. Paris found an actual beam in Japan, but there is something larger than a mote at home.

J. W. KRUTCH

Leacock Countermarches

My Discovery of England. By Stephen Leacock. Dodd, Mead and Company. $1.50.

MANY have envied and marveled at the serried succession of English literary lights (of all candle-powers) who have swarmed to America to lecture about themselves and then staggered home with the spoils of the dollar chase to write Impressions of the States; but few of the enviers and marvelers have known what to do about it. Until some tariff is enacted placing a prohibitive duty on platform material America will continue to be a stumping ground for foreign-made authors. But if lecturers and impressions can be imported, they can be exported. This has just been successfully done by Stephen Leacock. Professor Leacock attacked the problem by attacking England itself. He went over there with a complete lecturer's equipment, a boast-impressionist ego, and some tricks of his own; deliberately discovered Britain and its inhabitants and did a book about them—not to speak of serial rights in *Harper's*.

The fact that the professor is English-born and a denizen of Canada slightly detracts from the audacity of his coup; yet he takes pains to show that he is a North American at heart, that, though a member of the faculty of McGill University, Toronto, he is as much at home in all parts of the United States as a prohibition-hater can be.

"My Discovery of England" is characterized by hilarious horse sense and an occasional horse laugh. The comic stunt he set out to do is a blithe conception, but it is also a burden to him. Philosopher, pedagogue, political economist that he is, the responsibility of being unflaggingly rollicksome becomes at times almost an anxious duty. For example, in his chapter Oxford as I See It, he starts off with arrant foolery about the antiquatedness of the English university as compared with ours: its obsolete buildings that haven't even fire escapes; its lack of live-wire professors and a practical, up-to-date curriculum. "Salesmanship is not taught and Religion takes the feeble form of the New Testament. . . . What an Oxford tutor does

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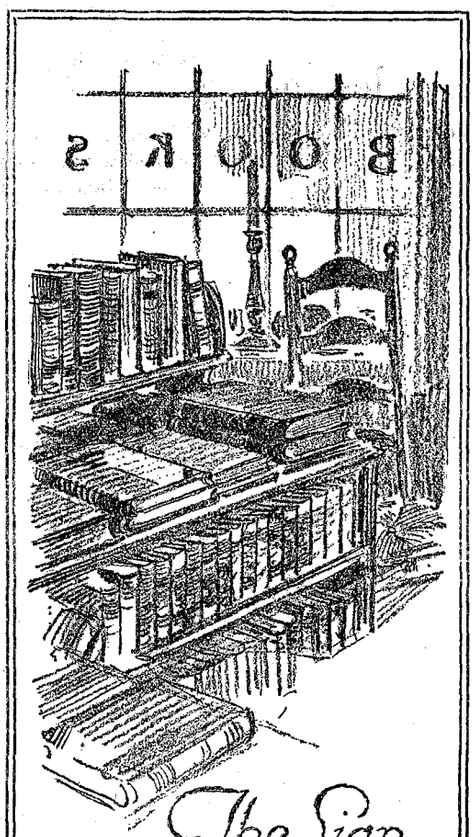

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is to get a little group of students together and smoke at them. Men who have been systematically smoked at for four years turn into ripe scholars." But soon Mr. Leacock's yearning admiration for methods that actually educate (whereas our efficiency systems of recitations, tests, written examinations, etc., do not, in his opinion at least) leads him into an earnestness which no surface nonsense can veil. His arraignment of co-education as an academic blight and mistake is frankly non-jocular. Yet, being a professing humorist as well as a professor, he ends the chapter *allegro giocoso.*

In discussing Business in England his serious convictions again crop out. He feels strongly the calamity of governmental discouragement of individual initiative, of censorship in place of morality, of tying up money in Victory bonds that are "only a particular name for a debt . . . only a dead weight of taxes. There capital sits like a bullfrog hidden behind water-lilies, refusing to budge." "Bring back the profiteer," he cries. "If need be, go and pick him out of the penitentiary, take his stripes off, and tell him to get busy again. Show him the map of the world and ask him to pick out a few likely spots. The trained greed of the rascal will find them in a moment. . . . When he has finished his work, we can always put him back in the penitentiary if we like. But we need him just now." Nutty normalcy!

The rest of the volume is innocent of earnestness. Mr. Leacock gives forth his alleged impressions of England, tells how (or approximately how) he was interviewed, enumerates places of interest in London from the American point of view—"The Bank of England, which acts as the London Agent of the Montana Farmers Trust Co."; "The House of Commons . . . with its commodious bar which offers a ready access to the members at all hours of the day." He complains of the unfortunate formality surrounding the King in London as contrasted with the happy cordiality of his reception as visiting Prince of Wales in Orillia, Ontario, when "Charley Janes and Mel Tudhope and the other boys who were on the town council . . . shook hands with him and told him he simply must stay over."

In conclusion Mr. Leacock offers sage observation on British and American humor, rejoicing over the fact that in England the telling of "funny stories" is not a social habit, but deploring the English partiality to puns. Indeed his denunciation of puns is most vehement and, to the sensibilities of this reviewer, most cruel. A pun is but a weak thing—wistful, clinging: its very frailness affects you like a woman's. Has the burly Canadian no chivalry that he thus brutally treads on its woes?

Despite a slack spot here and there and occasional echoes of previous Leacockery, the professor's "Discovery of England" should operate, as he intends, to stabilize the Balance of Trade in Impressions. But some Englishman should do something about American journalism. We see by the daily papers that our bunk clearings are still enormous.

LAWTON MACKALL

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International Relations Section

Contending Factions in Palestine

THE policy of the British Government in Palestine has recently met with severe criticism from the opposition parties in Parliament as well as from other groups—the Palestinian Arabs and the Catholic church, who from their different points of view have opposed the terms of the mandate and the methods of administration under the mandate. The Government's defense of its policy is contained in two parliamentary papers recently published. The first, issued on July 1, contained correspondence between the Colonial Office and the two bodies representing the rival interests in Palestine—the Palestine Arab Delegation and the Zionist Organization. The London *Times* of July 3 summarizes the contents of these letters in the following words:

The first letter, dated February 21, 1922, contains the Arab Delegation's criticisms of the draft constitution of Palestine, which although not yet published had been communicated for its information by the Colonial Office. The Delegation considers that too much power is given to the High Commission of Palestine in that document, that the quorum of the Legislative Council is too low, that Palestine appears to be considered as a Crown Colony, and objects to the recognition of Hebrew as an official language. The Delegation, which holds that the proposed constitution is wholly unsatisfactory, requests that the constitution for Palestine should:

(1) Safeguard the civil, political, and economic interests of the people.

(2) Provide for the creation of a national independent government in accordance with the spirit of Paragraph 4, Article 22, of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

(3) Safeguard the legal rights of foreigners.

(4) Guarantee religious equality to all peoples.

(5) Guarantee the rights of minorities.

(6) Guarantee the rights of the assisting Power.

The second letter, dated March 1, contains Mr. Churchill's reply to the Delegation's objections, which are dealt with *seriatim*, and while the Colonial Secretary explains why he is unable to accede to the second of the six requests, he expresses his willingness to meet certain of the objections and invites the Delegation to discuss with him and with members of his department "the practical steps which shall be taken to attain the objects" referred to in the other five requests.

In the third letter, dated March 16, the Arab Delegation refers to the British promises to King Hussein and suggests that the policy laid down in the Balfour Declaration is contrary to the spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations. After further criticism of Mr. Churchill's reply the Delegation, while regretting to seem unresponsive to his continued courtesy, explains that it has not discussed the details of the constitution, since no object could be gained by so doing, seeing that "the foundation on which these details are built is a subject of disagreement."

Mr. Churchill, in the fourth letter (April 11) expresses his disappointment at the attitude of the Delegation, and again invites that body to assist him in the matter of framing legislation for the control of future immigration into Palestine.

On June 3 the Colonial Office sent a letter to the Zionist Organization. It contained the following passage:

Under Article IV of the Draft Mandate submitted to the Council of the League of Nations, a special position is assigned to your organization as an agency authorized to cooperate with his Majesty's Government in this respect. In these circumstances it appears to Mr. Churchill essential, not only that the declared aims and intentions of your organization should be consistent with the policy of his Majesty's Government, but that this identity of aim should be made patent both to the people of Palestine and of this country, and, indeed, to the world at large. Mr. Churchill feels sure that you will appreciate this consideration, and will be anxious to do all in your power to remove any misunderstandings that may have arisen. He would accordingly be glad to receive from you a formal assurance that your organization accepts the policy as set out in the inclosed statement, and is prepared to conduct its own activities in conformity therewith.

British Policy in Palestine

Inclosed in this letter is a statement of the policy which the British Government proposes to follow in Palestine.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has given renewed consideration to the existing political situation in Palestine, with a very earnest desire to arrive at a settlement of the outstanding questions which have given rise to uncertainty and unrest among certain sections of the population. After consultation with the High Commissioner for Palestine, the following statement has been drawn up. . . .

The tension which has prevailed from time to time in Palestine is mainly due to apprehensions, which are entertained both by sections of the Arab and by sections of the Jewish population. These apprehensions, so far as the Arabs are concerned, are partly based upon exaggerated interpretations of the meaning of the declaration favoring the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, made on behalf of his Majesty's Government on November 2, 1917. Unauthorized statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that Palestine is to become "as Jewish as England is English." His Majesty's Government regard any such expectation as impracticable, and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated, as appears to be feared by the Arab Delegation, the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language, or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be founded *in Palestine*. In this connection it has been observed with satisfaction that at the meeting of the Zionist Congress, the supreme governing body of the Zionist Organization, held at Carlsbad in September, 1921, a resolution was passed expressing, as the official statement of Zionist aims, "the determination of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and together with them to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development."

It is also necessary to point out that the Zionist Commission in Palestine, now termed the Palestine Zionist Executive, has not desired to possess, and does not possess, any share in the general administration of the country. Nor does the special position assigned to the Zionist Organization in Article IV of the Draft Mandate for Palestine imply any such functions. That special position relates to the measures to be taken in Palestine affecting the Jewish population, and contemplates that the organization may assist in the general development of the country, but does not entitle it to share in any degree in its government.

Further, it is contemplated that the status of all citizens of Palestine in the eyes of the law shall be Palestinian, and it has never been intended that they, or any section of them, should possess any other juridical status.

So far as the Jewish population of Palestine are concerned, it appears that some among them are apprehensive that his Majesty's Government may depart from the policy embodied in the declaration of 1917. It is necessary, therefore, once more to

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affirm that these fears are unfounded, and that that declaration, reaffirmed by the Conference of the Principal Allied Powers at San Remo and again in the Treaty of Sèvres, is not susceptible of change.

During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community, now numbering eighty thousand, of whom about one-fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organization for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its town and country population, its political, religious, and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has, in fact, "national" characteristics. When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a center in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection. . . .

For the fulfilment of this policy it is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals. It is essential to insure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment. Hitherto the immigration has fulfilled these conditions. The number of immigrants since the British occupation has been about twenty-five thousand.

It is necessary also to insure that persons who are politically undesirable are excluded from Palestine, and every precaution has been and will be taken by the administration to that end.

It is intended that a special committee should be established in Palestine, consisting entirely of members of the new Legislative Council elected by the people, to confer with the administration upon matters relating to the regulation of immigration. Should any difference of opinion arise between this committee and the administration, the matter will be referred to his Majesty's Government, who will give it special consideration. In addition, under Article 81 of the draft Palestine Order in Council, any religious community or considerable section of the population of Palestine will have a general right to appeal, through the High Commissioner and the Secretary of State, to the League of Nations on any matter on which they may consider that the terms of the Mandate are not being fulfilled by the Government of Palestine.

With reference to the constitution which it is now intended to establish in Palestine, the draft of which has already been published, it is desirable to make certain points clear. In the first place, it is not the case, as has been represented by the Arab Delegation, that during the war his Majesty's Government gave an undertaking that an independent national government should be at once established in Palestine. This representation mainly rests upon a letter dated October 24, 1915, from Sir Henry McMahon, then his Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt, to the Sherif of Mecca, now King Hussein of the Kingdom of the Hejaz. That letter is quoted as conveying the promise to the Sherif of Mecca to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories proposed by him. But this promise was given subject to a reservation made in the same letter, which excluded from its scope, among other territories, the portions of Syria lying to the west of the district of Damascus. This reservation has always been regarded by his Majesty's Government as covering the vilayet of Beirut and the independent Sanjak of Jerusalem. The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir H. McMahon's pledge.

Nevertheless, it is the intention of his Majesty's Government to foster the establishment of a full measure of self-government in Palestine. But they are of opinion that, in the special circumstances of that country, this should be accomplished by gradual stages and not suddenly. The first step was taken when, on the institution of a Civil Administration, the nominated Advisory Council, which now exists, was established. It was stated at the time by the High Commissioner that this was the first step in the development of self-governing institutions, and it is now proposed to take a second step by the establishment of a Legislative Council containing a large proportion of members elected on a wide franchise. It was proposed in the published draft that three of the members of this council should be non-official persons nominated by the High Commissioner, but representations having been made in opposition to this provision, based on cogent considerations, the Secretary of State is prepared to omit it. The Legislative Council would then consist of the High Commissioner as President and twelve elected and ten official members. The Secretary of State is of opinion that before a further measure of self-government is extended to Palestine and the Assembly placed in control over the Executive, it would be wise to allow some time to elapse. . . .

The Secretary of State would point out that already the present administration has transferred to a Supreme Council elected by the Moslem community of Palestine the entire control of Moslem religious endowments (Wakis), and of the Moslem religious courts. To this council the administration has also voluntarily restored considerable revenues derived from ancient endowments which had been sequestrated by the Turkish Government. The Education Department is also advised by a committee representative of all sections of the population, and the Department of Commerce and Industry has the benefit of the cooperation of the Chambers of Commerce which have been established in the principal centers. It is the intention of the administration to associate in an increased degree similar representative committees with the various departments of the Government.

The Secretary of State believes that a policy upon these lines, coupled with the maintenance of the fullest religious liberty in Palestine and with scrupulous regard for the rights of each community with reference to its Holy Places, cannot but commend itself to the various sections of the population, and that upon this basis may be built up that spirit of cooperation upon which the future progress and prosperity of the Holy Land must largely depend.

Arab Opposition

The sixth letter of the series was sent on June 17 by the Arab Delegation, which had also received a copy of the above statement of policy. It criticizes the statement of policy, notably with reference to the activities of the Zionists in Palestine:

In the first place we would point out that since its establishment in Palestine the Zionist Commission has very much interfered with the administration of Palestine under one pretext or another, all of which were based on solicitude for Jewish interests. One military administrator after another, and one British official after another, had to go because they could not and would not govern the country on lines laid down by the Zionist Commission.

The delegation discusses the Rutenberg Concession and

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he use of the Hebrew language, and insists that the flow of ewish immigration is too great, and that three-quarters f the immigrants have gone into towns, where they "are ompeting with the townspeople for their daily bread, per-ıanently endangering public security, and rioting occa-ionally."

THE ZIONIST ACCEPTANCE

The seventh letter, dated June 18, and signed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, informs the Colonial Office that

'he executive of the Zionist Organization having taken note of he statement relative to British policy in Palestine, transmitted o them by the Colonial Office under date June 3, 1922, assure His Majesty's Government that the activities of the Zionist Or-anization will be conducted in conformity with the policy herein set forth.

In the eighth letter, June 25, Mr. Churchill communicates he Zionist undertaking to the Arab Delegation, and "con-iders that this fresh definition of the policy of his Majesty's Government, coupled with the formal assurance that has een obtained from the Zionist organization should finally llay the apprehensions" of the Arab population as to the cope and purport of British policy in Palestine.

Protecting the Holy Places

THE complications caused by the contending claims of the Arabs and Jews in Palestine have been increased by the attitude of the Vatican, which on May 15 dispatched a note to the League of Nations protesting against the terms of the Palestine mandate. The reply of the British Gov-rnment, sent to the Secretary General of the League, calls he attention of the League to the draft Palestine Order in Council which protects the right of "the free exercise of all forms of worship" and in general provides "safeguards against the risk that any nationality or creed will be sub-ordinated in any way to any other." In regard to the pro-ection of the Holy Places, particularly stressed in the Vatican's protest, the British note says:

As a further means toward insuring absolute impartiality His Majesty's Government would be prepared, if the Council of he League approved this course, to select nominees for the ·ommission [in charge of Holy Places] from a panel put for-vard in the first place under some international procedure, whether by the Assembly or Council of the League of Nations or by the president of the Court of International Justice, while eserving to themselves the right to submit additional names or stated reasons to the Council of the League for approval. The panel should, in their opinion, be composed of persons of world-wide reputation to be selected in such a way that the ·ommission would be a thoroughly representative international body, on which none of the Great Powers interested in Palestine and none of the three confessions—namely, Christian, Moham-medan, and Jew—would be without representation. His Majesty's Government would also invite the Council of the League to appoint one of the members of the commission as its first chairman by whatever procedure commends itself to the Council. . . .

A new draft of Article 14 of the Palestine Mandate pro-viding for the appointment of such a commission is annexed to the note. It reads, in part, as follows:

In order to determine the existing rights in the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, which the manda-tory is pledged under the preceding article to maintain, a com-mission consisting of not less than seven members shall be ap-

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pointed by the mandatory, subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations. The duty of the commission shall be to frame a report defining these rights, including rights of ownership, user, and access. The report shall be laid before the Council of the League of Nations for confirmation, and when confirmed shall be binding on the mandatory.

In the preparation of their report, the commission will consider all conflicting claims to any of the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites, and will endeavor in consultation with representatives of the confessions concerned to arrive at an agreed definition of existing rights. . . .

The report of the commission may also contain recommendations for insuring that certain Holy Places, religious buildings, or sites which the commission finds to be regarded with special veneration by the adherents of one particular religion are entrusted to the permanent control of suitable bodies representing the adherents of the religion concerned.

Such control will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. . . .

In all cases dealt with under this article, the right and duty of the mandatory to maintain order and decorum in the place concerned shall not be affected, and the buildings and sites will be subject to the provisions of such laws relating to public monuments as may be enacted in Palestine with the approval of the mandatory.

Any religious confession which considers that the mandatory is not giving effect to the provisions of the report may appeal to the Council of the League, who may require the mandatory to reassemble the commission for the purpose of considering and reporting upon any such appeal. Such report shall be laid before the Council of the League of Nations for confirmation, and when confirmed shall be binding on the mandatory.

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Commandment I
"I Am Jehovah Thy God"

Exodus, xx:2.
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or

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Because the second Commandment contains this: " . . . for I Jehovah thy God am a revengeful God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, etc.," Jehovah is thought of as a fearful, merciless God.

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Is Jehovah fearful, merciless or natural?

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